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in accord with government regulations, must spend a six-month training period in the field to qualify for the medical degree. In addition, some Tepoztecans visit private doctors and the free health clinic in Cuernavaca. The presence of five midwives with some training in modern hygienic methods is also to be noted. Finally, the trend toward a lower general mortality rate may be related to the steadily increasing standard of living in the village. As will be seen later, the consumption of meat, eggs, milk, and bread has risen considerably over the last twenty years.

In Table 8 is presented the average mortality rate by age groups for the entire municipio of Tepoztlán over a twelve-year period from 1930 to 1941, inclusive.

TABLE 8. Average Mortality Rate by Age Group, from 1930 to 1941, Inclusive.

Age Group	Mortality Rate
Less than 1 year	96.94
1-4	44.24
5-9	7.24
10-14	10.31
15-19	11.22
20-39	5.60
40-59	15.75
60 and over	56.80

These figures show that the age of lowest mortality rate in Tepoztlán is from twenty to thirty-nine. The death rate from forty to fifty-nine, though increased, is not unusually high, indicating that many individuals live to a fairly ripe old age.

LANGUAGE AND LITERACY

Two languages are spoken in Tepoztlán, Spanish and the indigenous Náhuatl. Twenty years ago when Redfield was there, nearly all the inhabitants spoke Náhuatl. Since that time there has been a marked decrease in the use of Náhuatl and a corresponding increase in the use of Spanish. The data in Table 9, based on the Federal Census of 1930 and 1940, indicate this trend.

TABLE 9. Languages Spoken in the Municipio and Tepoztlán.

Languages	Municipio		Tepoztlán
	1930	1940	1940
Spanish	14%	40%	52%
Náhuatl	4	5	1
Spanish and Náhuatl	82	55	47

Although about one-half of all Tepoztecans are still bilingual, the drop from 82 to 55 per cent for the municipio and to 47 per cent for Tepoztlán proper is striking. The decrease of those who speak only Náhuatl in the entire municipio was from 144 individuals in 1930 to 29 in 1940. In 1944 there were five persons in Tepoztlán who spoke only Náhuatl. The significance of this trend is unmistakable. It would be safe to predict that within the next few generations the number of bilingual persons will become negligible.

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for there are employers and employees within the specialties. Thus, a part time carpenter may employ two assistants during the busy season in his trade. In this connection it should be noted that the numbers of occupations shown in Table 19 refer to both artisans and their day laborers.

The changes in occupation and specialization can best be appreciated by a comparison of our data with that given by Redfield for 1926. A complete comparison is not always possible because some of the occupations in Tepoztlán are new and others, though mentioned by Redfield, were not given in numbers. Table 19 lists the occupations and numbers of persons employed in 1926 as compared with 1944. Also included are the number who belong to families with milpas in *ejido*, private holdings or *tlacolol*, to indicate those who have other sources of income. Finally, I have listed the number who work in their fields, in addition to their trade, to determine the degree of specialization.

An examination of Table 19 indicates at once the magnitude of the changes in occupations. Considering first only those occupations for which there is comparable data, we find that there has been an increase from 69 to 187 individuals who work in the various occupations. This represents an increase of 161 per cent as compared with a population increase during this period of approximately 45 per cent.[4] Comparing the number of individuals engaged in special occupations in 1926 with the number today, we find an increase from 69 to 273. This represents an increase of over 290 per cent.

The difference between these two figures is in a sense a measure of the degree of acculturation and the rise in the standard of living. The sharp rise in the number of storekeepers, teachers, butchers, bakers, and masons bears out this statement. In contrast to the small number of stores (five), which existed in Redfield's time, all of which were in the plaza, there are now twenty stores, ten in the plaza and ten distributed among the barrios. The spread of stores to the barrios reflects the general tendency in the village, whereby the outlying barrios are becoming incorporated into the life of the center.

The stores have not only increased in number; they also carry a much wider variety of goods than twenty years ago. Formerly one had to go to Yautepec or Cuernavaca to buy sombreros, cloth, or pants. Now these items and many others are available in the village. The increase in the number of bakers from six to twenty-four attests to the widespread use of bread as a supplement to the tortilla. (See Fig. 17.) Even the poorest family looks forward to eating rolls at least a few times during the week. The figures on the increase of shoemakers from two to five do not adequately reveal the increase in the number of individuals who own shoes. According to the census of 1940, more than three hundred wore shoes daily. However, shoes are given little wear and are used primarily on Sundays and days of fiesta.

[4] This estimate is conservative, for as has already been indicated, there must have been fewer than 69 individuals with special occupations in 1926.

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The increase in the number of butchers (Fig. 18) parallels the greater consumption of meat in the village. An analysis of the municipio records indicates that the consumption of meat from 1931 to 1941 rose more than 130 per cent while the population increase was approximately 30 per cent. There are four meat stores, but meat is also sold in the open marketplace. There are no refrigeration facilities; the meat is hung on a line in the open air.

The number of teachers given in Table 19 refers to those Tepoztecans who are employed as teachers either in Tepoztlán or in other villages. Those now teaching

Fig. 17. A local bakery.

in Tepoztlán number fourteen in contrast with two teachers in 1926. There are now two schools, one in the center and the other in the barrio of Los Reyes.[8] The registration in the former at the present time is 611 and in the latter 61. Thus, from the "few score" children reported by Redfield in 1926 there is now a total registration of 672.[9]

Two other items in Table 19 deserve comment: the increase in barbers from five to fifteen and in corn merchants from two to thirteen. The former is another index of acculturation. Most men now visit the barber on an average of once a month. In the family budgets we have studied, the cost of haircuts for the male members of the household amounts to a sizeable sum during the year. There are three barber shops in the center, with modern barber chairs and equipment, and one each in the outlying barrios of San Sebastián and Los Reyes. The equipment

[8] The school in Los Reyes was built in 1931 through the initiative of the inhabitants of the small barrio.

[9] The average monthly attendance was 430.

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The *ejido* program in Tepoztlán has meant that 267 families, who were formerly landless, now have some land. However, the size of landholdings is too small to support Tepoztecan peasants according to their own standards. That the *ejido* has not really solved the land problem is of course due in part to the small amount of land that could be distributed, for Tepoztlán is surrounded on three sides by municipios which have their own communal lands. The *ejido* program has also had disruptive effects in the village in that it has created two distinct interest groups, the *ejidatarios* and the *ilavololeros*. Furthermore, taking the control of the communal lands away from the local municipal authorities has eliminated a source of municipal revenue, and thereby weakened local government and initiative. At the same time, it has increased centralism and made the municipio even more dependent upon the outside.

The deforestation occurring in the municipio and the refusal of Tepoztecans to abide by the regulation of the forestry department point up an important problem of more than local scope. Much has been written about the superstitious and backward Mexican peasant who opposes progress and sticks to his ancient way of life. Too frequently the specific reasons which lead to resistance to change are not sufficiently understood.

The case of Tepoztlán is typical. The livelihood of hundreds of Tepoztecan families depends upon hillside hoe culture and charcoal burning, two activities which by their very nature destroy forest resources and bring about soil erosion. Many Tepoztecans are aware that the forest resources are their greatest wealth and that failure to conserve them may lead to eventual ruin. But they are caught on the horns of the dilemma of a rapidly rising population and limited natural resources. It is no less than absurd to expect peasants to abide by rules which would deprive them of their food supply. In the light of the Tepoztecan material, it would seem essential that national programs of forest and soil conservation be carefully synchronized with other programs which will give the people alternative sources of income, if they are to give up hillside hoe culture and charcoal burning.

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9 wealth differences and levels of living:

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The first step we took in the study of wealth differences in Tepoztlán was to determine how wealth was defined by the villagers. Invariably, *los ricos* (the wealthy) were described as "those who own much land and cattle." Private land-ownership (in contrast to *ejido* holdings) was considered the most important single form of wealth. In all, twelve items were most frequently mentioned by informants as forms of wealth in the village. These were *ejido* plots, privately owned land, teams of oxen, plows, cattle, burros, mules, horses, hogs, sewing machines, urban property (that is, the ownership of more than one house site and house in the village), and plum trees. These items have this in common—they are all means of production and a source of income.

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To rank the families according to their wealth, we devised a point scale using one point for every 100 pesos of value.[1] Points were assigned to each of the items in accordance with the approximate sale value, the approximate production value, or both. Thus, one hectare of *ejido* land was assigned 3.6 points because the average annual production of one hectare of *ejido* land in Tepoztlán as of June, 1944, had a market value of 360 pesos. One hectare of privately owned land was assigned 7.2 points, which represented both the value of production and the sale value.

The items of the scale, and the assigned points for each item are given as follows:

1 hectare *ejido*	3.6
1 hectare private land	7.2
1 team of oxen	7.2
1 plow	.7
1 cow	3.1
1 donkey	1.5
1 mule	3.0
1 horse	2.5
1 hog	1.5
1 sewing machine	3.5
1 urban site and house	7.5
1 plum tree	1.0
1 non-farm occupation	1.0 [a]

[a] For every 100 pesos earned annually.

[1] This scale does not measure income.

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511 556 A score was obtained for a given family by adding the number of points which were obtained for each item. For example, if a family owned 4 hectares of land (the minimum size of holding considered necessary by Tepoztecans for a "decent living" for a family of five), 1 plow, 1 team of oxen, 1 horse, 1 cow, 2 hogs, 2 plum trees, and 1 sewing machine, it would receive a score of 47 points. Since this is a very modest list, even according to Tepoztecan standards, a score of 40 to 50 points may be taken to represent approximately the minimum in property ownership necessary for a self-sufficient farm family. The distribution of scores is presented in Table 45.

511 556 162 TABLE 45. Frequency Distribution of Tepoztecan Families on Economic Point Scale.

Score	No. of Families	Per Cent of Total	Sub-Group	Per Cent of Total	Main Group	Per Cent of Total
400–407	1	.11				
220–253	3	.35				
200–219	2	.23				
190–199	1	.11	B	1.5		
180–189	1	.11				
170–179	3	.35				
160–169	2	.23			III	4.4
150–159	3	.35				
140–149	3	.35				
130–139	5	.58				
120–129	4	.46	A	2.9		
110–119	4	.46				
100–109	6	.70				
90–99	16	1.87				
80–89	18	2.11				
70–79	17	1.99				
60–69	20	2.34		13.9	II	13.9
50–59	28	3.28				
40–49	20	2.34				
30–39	74	8.67				
20–29	111	13.00	C	21.6		
10–19	206	24.15			I	81.5
1–9	213	24.82	B	49.2		
0	92	10.78	A	10.7		

511 556 [735] The most significant features in this frequency distribution are (1) the extremely wide range of wealth differences from zero to over 400 points; (2) the great majority clustering around the lower end of the scale, indicating widespread poverty (note that 81 per cent of the families have scores below what we have tentatively designated as a minimum for decent subsistence); (3) the 92 families having a zero score; and (4) the manner in which, from the distribution of the scores, the families fall into distinct economic groups. Eighty-one per cent of the families are in the lowest group (point score 0–39); 13.9 per cent are in the middle group

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(40–99); and 4.4 per cent are in the upper group (100–407.4). The lowest group can be broken down into three subgroups: those with 0 score, from 1–19 and 20–39, which we shall call I–A, I–B, and I–C, respectively. The middle group will be referred to as II. The upper group will be III–A (100–159) and III–B (160 and over).

To test the validity of our groupings, we asked ten informants to name the ten wealthiest families in the village. All those named were in our top group. Another way in which we checked our scale was to present names selected from each of the economic levels of the scale and ask informants to rank them according to their wealth. Again we found a very high correlation.

What are the characteristics of each of these economic groups? First let us consider the families with zero scores. For the most part they are either young married men, most of whom live with their parents, who also have low scores; or they are widows or old men, many of whom live alone. One-third of this group are women who manage to earn a living by small-scale trade and by doing odd jobs.

Groups I-A and I-B, which consist of 511 families with scores 0-19, contain 97 per cent of the landless people in the village. Three hundred and fifty-four, or 70 per cent, of the families in this group have zero scores for land. How do these landless people live? Approximately one-third depend upon *tlacolol*, but all depend upon a variety of activities which together provide a meager income. Many burn charcoal, sell wood, work as peons, are small traders, or have some other part-time occupation. They have some measure of security in that most of them own their houses and house sites or will inherit them. About one-third have hogs. Less than one-third own a mule, horse, or donkey.

The 119 families in Group II include most of the artisans and merchants as well as better-to-do farmers. The former are the most acculturated group in the village. They are the ones who wear ready-made clothes, send their children out of Tepoztlán to high school, and generally have a higher standard of living.

Group III consists of 38 families, all of whom have high scores on land, cattle, or both. About one-half of these families have inherited their land from wealthy relatives who before the Revolution were *caciques* and dominated the village. The other half have worked their way up to their present position.

We might ask whether there is any relationship between position on this scale and standard of living. Do the wealthiest people have the highest standard of living? On the whole, the people in Group III consume more meat, milk, eggs, and bread, and they generally live in better constructed and better furnished houses some of which have running water. But they are not the ones who go in for modern dress or any ostentatious spending for comforts or luxuries. They are a hard-working people and not a leisure class. One of the distinguishing characteristics of this group is that they generally have hired men all year around, but, with the exception of two men, they work side by side with their peons.

What is the relationship between wealth and the adoption of new traits? The Mexican Census of 1940 included three interesting items which provide us with

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some data on acculturation in relation to standard of living. The questions were: Do you eat bread (as against tortillas)? Do you wear shoes (as against going barefoot or wearing huaraches)? Do you sleep on a bed or a cot (as against sleeping on the ground or on a *tepexco*, a raised frame upon which the *petate* is placed)?

From a special tabulation of the census of Tepoztlán, we were able to correlate the responses to these questions with the family position on the economic scale. The results are shown in Table 46.

TABLE 46. Distribution of Acculturated Habits by Economic Groups.

Group	Per Cent Who Eat Bread	Per Cent Who Wear Shoes	Per Cent Who Sleep on Beds or Cots
I-A and I-B	23.20	6.46	14.12
I-C	32.30	6.78	23.18
II	50.82	12.06	30.71
III-A	41.55	7.14	21.42
III-B	57.69	5.12	16.66
Total	41.11	7.51	21.22

It is clear that eating bread correlates positively with economic position. Thus, 23 per cent of the people in Groups I-A and I-B, as compared with 57 per cent of the people in Group III-B, ate bread. Furthermore, we know from our observation that the wealthier people do eat bread more often and in greater quantities; bread is still a luxury in this village. [262]

Wearing shoes and sleeping in beds do not correlate with wealth, but rather with age. That is, the older people, rich or poor, prefer to use huaraches or go barefoot, and to sleep on the traditional *petate* or on a *tepexco*. We have here a nice example of the factor of selectivity in the adoption of new traits. Families who do not use shoes or beds will often buy sewing machines.

It should be noted that a larger percentage of Group II have adopted new traits, even though their economic resources are less than those of Group III. Table 47 shows the frequency distribution of the age of heads of families by economic categories. 556 162

TABLE 47. Age Distribution of Heads of Families by Economic Group.

Group	Years of Age				
	Less Than 29	30–49	50–69	70–99	Total
I-A	31	31	18	12	92
I-B	63	194	132	30	419
I-C	6	88	77	14	185
II	3	46	52	18	119
III-A	0	9	15	1	25
III-B	0	1	11	1	13
Total	103	369	305	76	853

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when they were able to buy land at low prices from hungry and half-starved villagers. The chaotic conditions during the Revolution, and the burning of the local archives and property registers, enabled some families to obtain land by devious methods. When the *caciques* fled the village, their lands were cultivated by the poorer families who remained. For the most part, however, these lands were returned to the owners or their heirs when they came back after peace had been established. In some poor families in which the head of the family was killed in the Revolution, the widows lost their land because they could show no legal title and were too poor to fight the cases in the courts.

Perhaps the most important ways in which families have obtained their wealth since the Revolution are through hard work, thrift, and self-denial over many years, and through the purchase and sale of cattle. Cattle trips to Guerrero and southern Morelos immediately after the Revolution were dangerous, and only those with courage, initiative, and a little capital went. In regard to self-denial, it is a common saying in Tepoztlán that the rich are the most miserly and thrifty. The terms *codo* (stingy) and *miserable* are often applied to the rich by their poorer neighbors. It should also be noted that in practically all cases of better-to-do families, the wife has been a hard worker and a good manager and has played a crucial part in aiding the family.

Movement down the economic ladder is occasioned by a number of factors. The fact that property is divided more or less equally among all the children makes it difficult for the same family to maintain its high position from one generation to another, although the sons of such families have an obvious advantage over the sons of landless families. But there are also other factors. Illness, lack of thrift, or poor management may result in a rapid loss of resources. Well-to-do families are also subject to some pressure from the community to participate in the fiesta life, and some of the wealthier families spend more heavily on costumes for the Carnaval and accept the job of barrio *mayordomo*, which always entails expenses. But as a rule it is the families of the middle group that go in for this type of spending.

HOUSING AND HOUSE FURNISHINGS

The houses of Tepoztlán are essentially of three types, the primitive *jacal*, the adobe house, and the more substantial dwellings found in the center of the village. The *jacal* and the adobe house are basically Indian, and the houses in the center show more of the Spanish influence.

The *jacal* is the poorest type of house in Tepoztlán and is considered primitive and extremely undesirable by the majority of the population. (See Fig. 35.) It is a flimsy structure of cornstalks or *otate* (Mexican bamboo), with thatched roof and earthen floor that give insufficient protection against cold, wind, and rain. The roof is apt to be gabled, in contrast with the one-sided sloping roof that is common in the village. The *jacal* is relatively infrequent in Tepoztlán and makes up less than 5 per cent of all dwellings; it is almost entirely limited to the smaller, outlying barrios, particularly in the upper part of the village. The *jacal* is far more

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Fig. 35. A *jacal*, with thatched roof.

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numerous in the surrounding villages of the municipio and, according to the Mexican Housing Census of 1939, it makes up 38.7 per cent of all dwellings in the Central Mesa region in which Tepoztlán is located.[3] The per cent for Mexico is 44.9, while in some southern states the per cent is sixty-five. Thus, the small proportion of *jacales* in Tepoztlán points to a comparatively high standard of housing in this village.

The great majority of Tepoztecan families (approximately 90 per cent) are housed in adobe, tile-roofed houses (Fig. 36), which sometimes have brick floors but more usually have earthen floors. These houses are more solid than the *jacal* and provide better protection from the elements. They consist of one or more rectangular rooms, each of which generally has only one opening, a doorway. Some of the more recently built adobe houses now have wooden-shuttered window openings as well. The door of each room opens onto the yard or porch, rather than being connected directly with other rooms in the interior of the house. Many families add a kitchen in the form of a lean-to with a tile-roof, and additional sleeping rooms are frequently constructed as families grow larger. The addition of a roofed porch across the front length of the house is an important improvement,

[3] Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 287.

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Fig. 36. Adobe house, with separate kitchen.

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since it increases living space and may be used as kitchen, sleeping room, work room, and for storage. The porch usually consists of an extension of the house roof supported by columns of adobe brick. There may be a low wall connecting the columns, and the porch may be enclosed by Mexican bamboo.

One of the common characteristics of the *jacal* and adobe house in Tepoztlán is that they are detached type dwellings, generally built within a patio or yard and set off from the street by a low stone wall or terrace. This is especially true in the smaller barrios where there is more space.

In sharp contrast with the *jacal* and adobe houses are the few but striking homes of former *caciques* or of wealthier families of the center barrios. (See Fig. 37.)

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These houses invariably show marked Spanish or modern urban influence, and several of them border on elegance. They are large and imposing, and surrounded by an outer wall, built flush with the street, in which glass-paned windows and small balconies of iron grillwork are set. The roofs are of tile and slope from the street side inward, so that the outer wall is higher than the inner one and makes the house appear tall. Sometimes a high stone or plastered wall shields the house from the street and opens into the patio by means of a massive wooden door, or *zaguán*. Other houses have more elegant exteriors of one or more arches and col-

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Fig. 37. *Cacique* homes.

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umns. The rooms of the house are grouped in a rectangle or U-shape and open onto a wide *corredor*, which generally runs the inside length and sides of the house, enclosing the patio. These houses are constructed of brick or stone, covered with plaster, and whitewashed inside and out. A good number of these houses are now in disrepair. Not infrequently the families living in them are the impoverished sons or widows of formerly wealthy men.

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While only the poorest live in *jacales*, it is by no means true that the wealthiest live in the finest houses. Families of every category of wealth live in simple adobe houses. A few of the richest men, who represent the conservative older generation, continue to live in relatively unimproved houses.

There is a distinct tendency for newly rich families to build their homes with simple exteriors, even though the interior may have a degree of elegance and the family can well afford a more imposing looking house. This is done to avoid getting the reputation of being wealthy and to avoid the envy and malice of others. The violence and destruction wreaked against the homes of the wealthy during the Revolution are well remembered, and a few informants made specific reference to the fear of such a recurrence in explaining why they had built their new homes with such plain exteriors.

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The great majority of houses in Tepoztlán have no running water or sanitary facilities of any kind. Water is carried in tin cans from the closest public fountain;

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and although this is the traditional and common practice, it is now considered a real hardship by more and more families. The quantity of water consumed by a family is usually determined by the amount of labor it can devote to water-carrying, and many families limit their use of water for bathing, for plants and animals, and for laundry. Use of the public laundry, generally considered undesirable, is made of necessity by many. The few families with water piped into their patios invariably have flourishing flower, fruit, and vegetable gardens. These families are very much envied, and not infrequently their water pipes are deliberately stuffed or damaged by less fortunate neighbors.

The benefits of toilets are not as generally recognized, and only one private home and the two tourist houses have toilets that can be flushed. The new schoolhouse, however, has toilets and showers, and the younger generation is becoming accustomed to their use. The schoolteachers, the students who have been away to boarding schools, and the not insignificant number of Tepoztecans who have spent time in Mexico City are also familiar with the use of toilets and will undoubtedly be among the first to install them in their dwellings in the future. Some already have constructed screens around their latrines in their yards or orchards to afford some privacy.

Bathing facilities for women and children generally consist of a clay or tin basin at home; the men and older boys bathe in the river. Many women bathe and wash their hair when they do their laundry in a stream or at the public washing place.

No Tepoztecan house has any means of heating other than the kitchen fire. This, however, gives little heat and is extinguished as soon as cooking is completed, to save fuel. In the winter months the family generally retires earlier to keep warm, but since most families have a minimum number of blankets, there is probably some suffering during the night due to cold. Except for early morning, the days are warm all the year round.

There are various means of lighting the house after dark, the most common and inexpensive being candles. Some homes have kerosene lamps and a few of the houses and stores in the center have Coleman gasoline lamps. One Tepoztecan house—that of the prosperous curer, Don Chucho—has electricity which is operated by a privately owned generator. There is talk of installing electricity in the plaza and in the church and chapels near the center, and it is probably only a matter of time before this is done.

Differences in house furnishings are even more striking than differences in house types, and there is an unending variety of combinations of new and old or modern and primitive household items. It is not at all unusual to find under one roof a battery-operated radio, a pre-Hispanic hearth as the only means of cooking, a hand mill for grinding coffee, and the Indian stone *metate* for grinding corn. Modern equipment for cooking, serving, sleeping, lighting, and so forth, is with few exceptions greatly esteemed; and in the majority of families only lack of money prevents its purchase. Among the youth, the more educated, and the large middle economic group, there is a strong desire to live better and to invest

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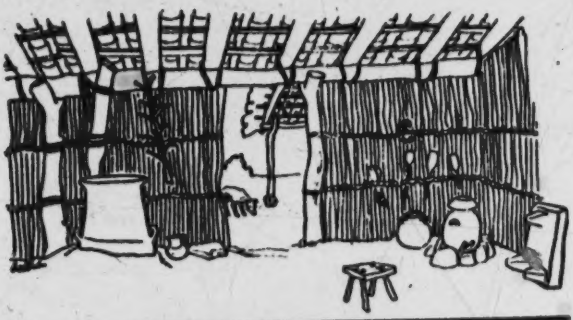
in household comforts. On the other hand, many of the older generation, even those with means, scorn innovations and prefer to live the way they have always lived, investing what surplus they have in land and cattle. The use of modern household equipment correlates more with age and education than with wealth. On the whole, we find modern equipment more frequently in the homes of families with a medium income. In the homes of the better-to-do there is almost always a greater quantity of household goods, whether primitive or modern.



Kitchen in poor home.

Fig. 38.

Kitchen in well-to-do home.

Wealthier families generally own enough plates, pots, glasses, spoons, chairs, etc., to be able to serve fiesta meals to a large number of people without having to borrow, as do so many other Tepoztecan families.

The four features mentioned by Redfield as being inevitably present in the Tepoztecan kitchen of 1926-27 are still found, though with some modifications.[3] (Fig. 38 illustrates the contrast between kitchens in a well-to-do and a poor home.) These features are the hearth, the griddle, the grinding stone, and the pot. Today

[3] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 35.

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Today

almost every house has a hearth made of three stones set in a triangle, or of stones plastered in the shape of a horseshoe, to support the griddle. It is no longer always located on the floor, but is frequently raised to almost table-height by means of a cement platform. The use of platforms has been stimulated by the cultural missions that have visited the village and demonstrated to the more interested and enterprising women some ways of improving their homes. The *brasero*, a raised clay stove with two or three charcoal-burning iron grates on top, is generally still found only in better-to-do homes and is used sparingly or only for preparing fiesta meals. The *comal* (griddle), which in Redfield's time was always clay, is now frequently iron, and many families own one of each type. Though the *comal* is still an indispensable utensil in every home, the increasing consumption of bread, especially for breakfast and supper, makes it somewhat less used than formerly. The same is true of the *metate* (grinding stone), since almost all women now have their corn ground at the mill. But every home has one or more *metates* for regrinding mill-ground corn and for emergencies. *Metates* are also used for coffee and for large quantities of chile for fiestas. Despite the commercial mills, no Tepoztecan woman would set up housekeeping without her own *metate*. Finally, the *olla*, mentioned by Redfield, is the clay pot in which the maize for tortillas is cooked. To this utensil must be added the pot for beans, another for coffee, and another for meat. Most families have one large pot to retain the water in which maize has been soaked and cooked, and the water needed to moisten the woman's hands as she makes tortillas. This water, which contains some nourishment, is then fed to the pigs.

The remaining house furnishings are relatively few; they consist mainly of sleeping equipment, religious articles, and various containers for storage. For sleeping there are three kinds of beds: the *petate* or straw mat placed on the floor; the *tepexco*, a raised bed of bamboo sticks tied together and placed on a wooden frame or on two sawhorses; and a brass or iron bedstead with metal springs over which a *petate*, rather than a mattress, is generally placed. The great majority of the population sleep either on the floor or on the *tepexco*, and only 19.29 per cent sleep on a bed or cot.[4] The proportion of those who sleep on a bed or cot for Mexico as a whole is far greater (61.1 per cent), and even for communities of 10,000 or less inhabitants it is 53.4 per cent.[5]

The majority of Tepoztecans sleep on the floor because they lack the funds to buy beds, but most of the older generation, regardless of their economic status, sleep that way by preference. Many an acculturated family has sought without success to accustom the old mother or grandmother to sleeping on a bed. Some old people are afraid of falling off during the night, others say that to sleep off the ground is to be more subject to *los aires* (evil winds). One old woman told her grandchildren that it is better to sleep on the floor because it is closer to mother

[4] This figure was derived from a special tabulation of census data for Tepoztlán taken from the Mexican Census of 1940.

[5] Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 291.

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earth. Most of the younger people of the village view beds as a desirable luxury. Pillows, mattresses, pillowcases, sheets, and bedspreads are found in only a few Tepoztecan homes. A wool serape is all the bedding known to the majority of the population.

Sleeping arrangements vary somewhat from family to family, but the most widespread custom is for the parents to share their *petate* with the children of about two to six years of age who sleep between them. This is also true when a bed is used. The nursing baby sleeps on the other side, next to the mother. Cradles are used only during the day. Older children sleep apart, the girls sharing one *petate* and the boys another. In homes with more than one room the parents and small children sleep in one room and the older children in the other; in few homes are there enough rooms to permit the separation of older brothers and sisters. Sometimes parents are embarrassed to lie down together in the presence of their children, and the mother sleeps with the daughters while the father sleeps with the sons.

Most homes have a makeshift altar in the main room of the house. This is usually a table on which are placed candles, flowers, incense burners, and images of saints. These images are highly prized and occupy a prominent place in the home. Some families have large images of Jesus, Mary, or one of the saints, which have been in the family for many generations. Religious pictures are hung on the wall over the table, and frequently there are tissue paper decorations arranged around the table. (See Fig. 39.)

Wooden boxes and one or two wooden chests are used for storage of clothing, blankets, and other personal property. Extra clothing in regular use is hung on

Fig. 39. A domestic altar.

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nails and now, not infrequently, on wood or wire clothes hangers purchased in Cuernavaca. Clothes closets are used only in a very few well-to-do homes in the center of the village. Food, except corn and beans, does not present a storage problem, since it is purchased in small quantities for immediate consumption. A few cans, bottles, jars, and baskets usually suffice to take care of current food. But the more modern or acculturated the family, the greater the number of storage facilities.

The family supply of corn presents the most important storage problem. For this purpose separate structures resembling corncribs are built in the family patio. Redfield describes these as follows:

> The storehouse (S. *troje*) is practically always present, and is usually placed immediately in front of the dwelling. It occurs in three forms, all of which are probably of entirely pre-Columbian design. The *ohuatlapil* (N. *ohuatlapilli*) is most common. This is circular, about six feet high and of varying diameter; it is made of vertical cornstalks bound together with rope. It contains maize on the cob (S. *mazorca*). Also made to contain *mazorca* is the *cincolote* (N. *zincolohtli*). This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon another at right angles to the first until the structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.[8]

The *cuescomatl* is now a rarity in Tepoztlán, since most of them have been dismantled or allowed to fall in ruin. They are considered very primitive in appearance, and the few families who still own them are not keeping them in good repair and obviously do not take pride in them, although some of them are over a hundred years old. Now shelled corn is stored inside the house in large sacks made of *petates* sewn together, in large baskets, or in burlap bags.

The sewing machine has, as Redfield put it, "become a part of the general Tepoztecan material culture; it is found in all parts of the village and in houses otherwise Indian in character." At present there are 215 sewing machines in Tepoztlán, owned by 25.3 per cent of the families. This is a relatively high proportion in comparison with other rural areas. The average distribution in rural areas throughout Mexico is 15.6 per 100 families; the average for both rural and urban areas in the nation is 22.5 per cent.

Although sewing machines are apt to be found in the poorest homes, as well as in well-to-do homes, there is a high correlation between degree of wealth and ownership of sewing machines. We find such ownership in 76 per cent of Group III, 39 per cent of Group I–C, and 10 per cent of Groups I–A and I–B. It is interesting to note that among Groups I–A and I–B there is a considerable number of families who own no property except a sewing machine. The few wealthy families who do not have their own machines either have little need for one or have all their clothing made by a local seamstress. The 215 machines in Tepoztlán service many more than that number of families, since it is customary to lend or rent machines to relatives and neighbors, and most machines are in continuous use. Indeed, it may be said that one of the secondary but not unimportant effects of the sewing machine

[8] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 33–34.

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is to provide women with an excuse for visiting each other, and that it has extended their social life.

There are less than a dozen battery-operated radios in the village, and most of them have been purchased since 1944. There are also about 44 spring-driven phonographs.

DIET

As in rural Mexico as a whole, the basic diet of the people of Tepoztlán consists of corn, beans, and chile. Squash, which was reported by Redfield to be an important element in the food complex of Tepoztlán, is not part of the regular daily diet and is eaten only a few months of the year. The proportion of corn, beans, and chile in the diet varies sharply from family to family and depends upon the season, income, and food habits of the family. The consumption of corn, which is the major food staple, ranges from 10 per cent to as much as 70 per cent of the family diet. In general, the poorer the family, the higher the proportion of corn, beans, and chile in the diet.

Yellow corn is most commonly used in Tepoztlán, but blue and white corn is also locally grown and used. Corn is most frequently eaten in the form of tortillas and occasionally in the form of *atole* (gruel). Tamales made of corn dough are eaten at certain fiestas; corn *pozole* and corn *pinole* are known but are not characteristic foods in this village. The preparation of the corn dough or *nixtamal* with lime is the same in Tepoztlán as in other parts of Mexico. There is a wide variety of beans in Tepoztlán, but the most commonly eaten are red kidney beans cooked with lard, chile, and sometimes tomato and onion. Green chile, ground with onion and tomato, is prepared daily as a sauce to be eaten with tortilla and whatever other foods are served. *Chile pasilla*, a large dried red chile, is more expensive and is generally reserved for use in the fiesta *mole* sauce.

The basic diet is supplemented by many other foods which are either locally cultivated, gathered wild, or purchased in the stores and market place. Among the foods used in Tepoztlán are the following:

zapote	beans	honey
banana	avocado	spices
orange	hog plum	herbs
lemon, lime	*chirimoya*	beef
grapefruit	*mameys*	pork
chayote	papaya	chicken
manzanillos	mango	turkey
tomato	squash	milk
sugar cane	peanuts	eggs
pitos	coffee	cheese
acacia seeds	prickly pear	clotted cream

The fields, forests, and mountain sides provide many free foods the year round. There are several varieties of wild edible greens, which are important in that they

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Dinner, the most substantial meal, is eaten in the middle of the day whenever possible. It may consist of beans, tortilla, and chile. A good dinner, according to the Tepoztecan view, should include meat cooked with some vegetables, a bowl of rice or noodles cooked in broth, and the inevitable beans, tortilla, and chile. Coffee may or may not be taken at the end of dinner. Supper generally consists of coffee and tortillas or bread, with perhaps a piece of cheese.

Variety is provided by changing the type of meat or by using fish and by varying the vegetables. Fruit, peanuts, sugar cane, candies, cookies, and other sweets are eaten between meals and are generally not regarded as food to be included in a meal. The taste for sweets is developing among the children, particularly school children, and they are becoming more demanding of their parents in this respect.

To get a better notion of the quantities of food consumed, as well as of the variety, we will examine a typical weekly food budget of a well-to-do family and of a poor family. (See Tables 48 and 49.) The prosperous family selected is in the upper economic group and is one of the more respected, educated families in the village. At the time of our study, the family consisted of the parents and an adult son and daughter. Both the son and daughter had received considerably more education than is common, and both had lived in Mexico City with relatives.

The other family is one of the poorest in the village. The father is a *tlacololero* and works alone to support his wife and seven young children. An older daughter left home to work as a servant in Cuernavaca, but she contributes nothing to the family. The ages of the children at home range from an infant-in-arms to fifteen years. Both families were observed during the summer months before the harvest in the year 1944. The slight differences in some of the prices were due to local fluctuations; the smaller quantities purchased by the poor family sometimes resulted in higher costs. The weekly budgets represent a summary of daily expenditures directly observed or estimated by our field workers.

A comparison of the weekly food budgets reveals that, although Family I has fewer mouths to feed, it spends three times more on food and consumes consistently more of every food item, with the exception of corn, green chile, lard, and salt. Its weekly diet provides greater variety, more sources of protein and more of the highly prized "luxury" foods. The corn-beans-chile-complex mentioned earlier makes up only 13 per cent of the diet of Family I and 46.9 per cent of that of Family II. Taken alone, corn represents 34 per cent of the food expenditure of the poor family and 9 per cent of that of the well-to-do family.[9] Despite this, the latter consumes only 2½ *cuartillos* less corn a week. If we consider those food items which are consumed daily or in the greatest quantities weekly by the poor family, we find that corn, beans, green chile, lard, wild greens, coffee, sugar, salt, and green tomatoes make up 83 per cent of the expenditure of this family. These foods may be said to be the real core of their diet. The same foods take up only 22 per cent of the expenditure of the other family.

[9] During certain times of the year some Tepoztecan families live on a diet which consists of from 50 to 70 per cent corn.

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TABLE 48. Typical Weekly Food Budget, 1944.

Food	Family I (Well-to-do, 4 Adults)		Family II (Poor, 2 Adults, 7 Children)	
	Quantity	Cost in Pesos	Quantity	Cost in Pesos
Corn	10½ *cuartillos*	2.94	13 *cuartillos*	3.64
Beans	1¼ *cuartillos*	1.12	1½ *cuartillos*	1.02
Lard	¼ *cuartillo*	1.00	¼ *cuartillo*	1.00
Green chile	½ *cuartillo*	.25	Over ½ *cuartillo*	.35
Lime (for tortillas)		.10		.05
Coffee	¼ *cuartillo*	.25	⅛ *cuartillo*	.35
Sugar	2 kilos	.90	⅛ kilo	.35
Salt	About ½ kilo	.20	½ kilo	.35
Tomatoes (green)		.50		.35
Tomatoes (red)	1 *cuartillo*	.60		
Eggs	1½ dozen	2.80		
Milk	10½ liters	6.30		
Meat	1½ kilos	3.00	¼ kilo	.20
Bread		4.20		.15
Rice	1 kilo	.50	About ½ kilo	.20
Noodles		.70		.20
Cheese	1 kilo	1.80	¼ kilo	.45
Vegetables		1.75		.45
Fruits and sweets		3.00	Peanuts and acacia seeds	.05
Wild greens			3 times a week	1.50
Total		31.91	Total	10.66

TABLE 49. Fiesta Meals.

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Family I[a]		Family II[b]	
Occasion	Cost of Food	Occasion	Cost of Food
June:		June:	
Son's Saint's Day	25.00	Barrio Fiesta	6.35
August:		Mother's Saint's Day	1.05
Barrio Fiesta	15.00		
October:		November:	
Daughter's Saint's Day	20.00	Day of the Dead	5.00
November:			
Day of the Dead	25.00	February:	
December:			
Christmas		Eldest Daughter's Saint's Day	31.25
The Posadas	70.00		
February:			
Fiesta of La Candelaria	30.00		
Total	185.00	Total	43.65

[a] The fiesta meals of this family always include the traditional appropriate dishes and an abundance of sweets, fruit, and drink.

[b] The fiesta meals of this family generally consist of extra meat. This year, for the first time, the family had a birthday celebration for a child. It was for the purpose of inviting her godparents, who are also her employers. Three chickens were served with *mole* sauce and rice. There was also pulque, lemonade, and fruit on this occasion.

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TABLE 50. Some Basic Food Prices, 1926–1944.

Year	Price in Pesos						
	Corn (*Cuartillo*)	Beans (*Cuartillo*)	Sugar (Kilo)	Lard (Kilo)	Salt (Kilo)	Beef (Kilo)	Rice (*Cuartillo*)
1926	.07	.16	.32	.80	.10	.50	.32
1927	.07	.16	.32	.80	.10	.50	.32
1928	.07	.16	.32	.80	.10	.50	.32
1929	.08	.16	.32	.90	.10	.50	.32
1930	.08	.17	.32	.90	.10	.55	.32
1931	.08	.20	.32	.90	.10	.50	.32
1932	.08	.20	.32	.90	.10	.50	.35
1933	.08	.20	.32	1.00	.10	.50	.35
1934	.09	.22	.32	1.00	.10	.50	.35
1935	.09	.22	.35	1.25	.12	.55	.35
1936	.09	.25	.35	1.50	.14	.60	.40
1937	.10	.25	.40	2.00	.18	.60	.40
1938	.10	.28	.40	3.00	.20	.60	.40
1939	.11	.30	.40	3.00	.20	.80	.50
1940	.15	.30	.40	3.50	.20	.90	.50
1941	.15	.35	.45	4.00	.22	1.20	.80
1942	.18	.40	.50	4.00	.24	1.20	1.00
1943	.20	.50	.55	4.00	.30	1.80	1.00
1944	.28	.60	.65	4.00	.50	2.00	1.00

To understand the buying pattern and the relation between income and food expenditure, we kept a daily record of the income and expenditures of one family for a period of twenty-six days. This family consists of the parents, three grown sons who work in the fields, a grown daughter who works at home, a ten-year-old boy still in school, and a five-year-old grandson—six adults and two children in all. The family is poor and landless, having only *tlacolol*. When not working on *tlacolol*, the sons hire out as peons, and the father devotes himself to politics and other non-income producing activities.

Our record was kept from July 20 to August 14, 1948, when there was a lull in work on *tlacolol*. During this period the sons worked as peons, giving the family a much needed source of cash. However, food prices are particularly high at this time of the year, and despite the comparatively good income, the family was hard pressed. The family had no savings and several debts. A record of seven of the twenty-six days follows:

July 20	
6 *cuartillos* corn	4.20
1½ *cuartillos* corn for animals	1.05
Lard	.15
Beans	.30
Kerosene	.20
Total	5.90
Source of funds:	
Borrowed cash	

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July 21

6 *cuartillos* corn		4.20
1 *cuartillo* corn for animals		1.05
¼ kilo sugar		.23
Coffee		.10
1 box matches		.10
Total		5.68
Source of funds:		
Borrowed cash		

July 22

5 *cuartillos* corn		3.50
1 *cuartillo* corn for animals		.20
Tomatoes (red)		.15
Salt		.05
Garlic		.05
Onions		.10
Cinnamon		.05
¼ kilo sugar		.23
Dry *guajes*		.25
Drinking alcohol for parents		.45
Hay for mule		1.00
Kerosene		.10
Milling corn		.22
Firewood		.20
Total		6.55
Source of funds:		
Sale of 12 *cuartillos* corn (advance payment sons' wages as peons)	8.00	
Cash for same	4.00	
Total	12.00	

July 23

6 *cuartillos* corn		4.20
1 *cuartillo* corn for animals		.70
½ kilo salt		.15
Chile		.15
¼ kilo sugar		.23
Drinking alcohol for parents		.15
Milling corn		.18
Hay for mule		1.50
Repaid debt to employer		20.00
Repaid debt to neighbor		5.00
Repaid old debt of father		8.00
Total		40.06

Source of funds:		
Sale of 1½ *cuartillo* corn	1.05	
Beans (gift of married daughter)	.70	
Wages of two sons for six days' work	48.00	
Total	49.25	

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July 24

6 *cuartillos* corn		4.20
2 *cuartillos* corn for animals		1.40
1 *puño* beans		.50
Tomatoes (green)		.20
Chile		.10
½ kilo sugar		.23
Milling corn		.20
Kerosene		.20
Total		7.03
Source of funds:		
Sale of 4 *cuartillos* corn	2.80	
Wages for one son's work	6.00	
Total	8.80	

July 25

7½ *cuartillos* corn		4.55
1½ *puños* beans		.75
Lard		.20
Chile		.20
1 *cuartillo* corn for animals		.70
Tomatoes (red)		.15
½ kilo sugar		.23
Kerosene		.15
Milling corn		.16
Total		7.09
Source of funds:		
None		

July 26

7½ *cuartillos* corn		4.55
1 *cuartillo* corn for animals		.70
Cheese		1.00
Lard		.50
Noodles		.50
½ kilo sugar		.46
½ *cuartillo* beans		.40
Tomatoes (green)		.40
1½ *decilitros* rice		1.50
Drinking alcohol for parents		.30
Laundry soap		.50
Chili, onions, tomatoes		3.00
Total		13.81
Hourrches and bus fare to Cuernavaca		10.50
Source of funds:		
Wages for two sons' work	20.00	
Sale of plant to tourist	7.50	
Total	27.50	

July 27

7½ *cuartillos* corn		4.55
1 *cuartillo* corn for animals		.70
Beans		.50
Lard		.40
Chicharrón (pig's skin fried in lard)		.50
Cheese		.20

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½ kilo sugar	.23
Bread	.20
Coffee	.10
Drinking alcohol for parents	.30
Milling corn	.32
Total	8.00

Source of funds:
None

The amount earned by this family for the week was 97.95 pesos in cash and corn. The outgo was 48.60 for food, 33.00 to repay debts, and 24.03 for non-food items, leaving a deficit of 7.68. The hand-to-mouth, day-to-day existence, involving borrowing, receiving wages in advance, and buying food and necessities to last one day or so, is readily apparent from this record. Although approximately 50 per cent of the income is spent on food, the diet is monotonous and sparse, and conforms with our previous description of the diet of a poor family. During these seven days, the family ate no meat, no milk, no eggs, and no fruit. Wild greens were eaten in large quantities approximately every other day, but they have not been included in the record since they were gathered by the family and involved no expense. Corn makes up 69.8 per cent of the food expenditure and is eaten in large quantities.

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The irregularity of food consumption, depending upon the amount of cash on hand, is more apparent from a study of our full record. For example, in the week of August 4 to 11, three and one-half kilos of meat were purchased, but during the rest of the month almost no meat was bought. Also, when there is money or corn, the family eats 7½ *cuartillos* of corn, but when money is lacking, consumption goes down to three *cuartillos*. When there is no money, the mule is taken to pasture to save buying hay, and the turkeys and chickens are sold or left to fend for themselves. To save money, the mother and daughter sometimes grind corn on the *metate* instead of at the mill.

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Tepoztecans are very food conscious, as might be expected in view of the food situation we have described, and they show a keen interest in the eating habits of their relatives and neighbors. There is much gossip and criticism, often contradictory in nature, concerning the type of foods eaten by others and the amount spent on food. For example, the poor say, "The rich do not eat well because they are too stingy," or the poor are frankly envious of those who "eat better because they are rich." The better-to-do scornfully characterize the poor as eating only tortillas and salt, and those in the larger barrios contend that families in the small barrios of San Pedro and Los Reyes eat only two meals a day because they are "backward." Older or more conservative individuals criticize "modern" families for being presumptuous and unthrifty in eating too well, and the latter in turn accuse the former of ignorance concerning proper eating. Much of the talk about food reflects the changing standards of diet and the importance of food habits for social status. The interest in food and the critical attitude toward the eating habits of others may be a carry-over of the behavior which we have noted among children in the home.

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291 855 of acculturation of the family, barrio residence, and, to a greater degree than among adults, upon the family's economic status. Other factors affecting children's dress are school attendance and favoritism at home.

291 855 858 The younger a child is, the less effort and money is expended on his clothing and the less significance his clothing has in revealing economic status. In most families, pre-school children are not as well dressed as children who go to school. The only exception to this is the young favorite child of a better-to-do family. A favorite son may be given a little *gabán* as early as three years of age, but most boys do not receive *gabanes* until they begin to go out into the fields. A favorite girl may be given a little *rebozo* as soon as she asks for one, but generally girls receive a *rebozo* at about eight or nine. In very poor families a girl might not be given a *rebozo* until eleven or thereabouts. A favorite girl may receive a pair of gold earrings or a pair of holiday shoes at the age of two or three. Most girls do not receive these before [556] they are fifteen; boys are given huaraches when they begin to work in the fields. Sweaters are worn by children of better-to-do families only.

291 855 [872] [178] Parents tend to keep their school children's clothing cleaner and in better repair. Many also make some attempt to keep children dressed in the prevailing styles for their age group. This usually means shorter, better-fitting dresses for the girls, jackets and ready-made pants for boys. (See Fig. 47.) There is also a definite trend among families with enough means to buy children's shoes for special events and school fiestas. The school now places some pressure upon parents to provide shoes for their children by forbidding the latter to join public school parades if they are [554] barefoot. Differences in the clothing of the children of the rich and poor and of the more conservative and acculturated are becoming more marked and school children are becoming aware of the social distinctions involved. Their responses to the thematic apperception cards show school children to be particularly sensitive to clothing and to make appearance a significant aspect of their stories.

291 511 The quantity of clothing owned varies considerably from individual to individual. Even within the same family there is some variation. In general, youths and adolescent girls have the most and finest clothing, and the very young and very old have the least. In the poorest families each member may have only one dress or suit of clothing, but this is not common in Tepoztlán. Most women have at least two cotton [292] dresses for daily wear and one rayon dress for fiestas; most men own at least four shirts, four *calsones*, and one or two pairs of huaraches. The children of the [735] poor tend to have less than this minimum and frequently do not have special clothing for fiestas. In contrast, the middle and upper economic groups have many clothes, and among a few families there is evidence of extravagance in dress.

DIVERSION

796 [527] [517] Fiestas, both religious and secular, continue to be the main source of diversion for all groups in Tepoztlán. Every year the church calendar provides at least sixty-two important fiestas for Tepoztecans to celebrate, either as participants or observers. Not a month passes without a fiesta, and in some months there are five.

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twice a year the Acción invites members from other villages and provides them with a banquet and special religious services.

From the point of view of its effects upon the social structure and levels of living, recent trends in entertainment have tended to make for greater differences among the various economic groups. The new forms of diversion invariably involve an expenditure of money for dues, equipment, bus fare, shoes, clothing, and appropriate food. Thus, the very poor cannot join organizations like the sports club or Acción Católica, or go to Cuernavaca or to the movies, or celebrate birthdays with invited guests. The diversions which they can most easily afford are the fiestas and fairs and they rarely partake of others. It is the middle and upper economic groups which participate most actively in the newer type of diversions.

FAMILY BUDGETS

Having considered several separate aspects of levels of living in Tepoztlán we can now turn to a comparison and analysis of a few specific family budgets as a whole.[16] How much do families actually spend on food, clothing, health, recreation, and religious activities? How does a poor family compare with a rich family on the various items? What proportion of the expenditures are for subsistence, self-improvement, or economic investment?

We have estimated the approximate annual expenditures of seven families on each of the following items: food; basic household necessities; house upkeep, repair, and tax; clothing; education; health; religion and fiestas; diversion; investments; and miscellaneous. We will present again the two families for which we have already considered food expenditures.[17] It will be recalled that Family I is in the upper economic group and is made up of the parents and two adult children. Family II is one of the poorest families in the village and includes the parents and seven children. Table 52 presents a summary of the annual expenditures of each family.

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[16] The study of family budgets in a community like Tepoztlán is beset with many difficulties. Illiteracy is high and most Tepoztecan families are not in the habit of keeping accounts of expenditures or income. In addition, there are attitudes of reserve and even suspicion concerning this type of investigation, so that intensive budget studies can be done only where rapport is excellent. Also, as we have seen earlier, there is much seasonal variation in diet and expenditures, and the prices of many items vary a great deal during the year, so that many adjustments have to be made in arriving at an accurate annual budget. To study income and expenditure for a few weeks and then assume a weekly average and multiply by 52 would not yield accurate results in the case of Tepoztlán. Ideally the investigator should live with a family for at least a year and keep a daily account of income and expenditures for the family. In practice this is not always feasible. It seriously limits the range of data that the anthropologist can get and is very time consuming; only a few families could be studied in this manner by a single investigator. In getting the budgets presented here, a combination of the intensive and extensive approaches was used. Detailed schedules were drawn up, and daily records were kept for a few families for periods ranging from two to eight weeks. In addition, budgets were reconstructed for the preceding year by questioning of family members. In general the data on expenditures were much more satisfactory than those on incomes. Also, we found repeatedly that income was below expenditures, a common phenomenon in budget studies of low income families in rural areas in the United States.

[17] See "Diet," p. 187.

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TABLE 52. Comparison of Annual Expenditures of Two Families.

Item	Family I		Family II	
	Pesos	Percentage	Pesos	Percentage
Food:				
Daily	1,686.88	28.6	564.20	56.5
Fiestas	180.00	3.1	43.65	4.3
Alcohol	—*	—*	25.00	2.5
Basic household necessities	303.28	5.2	120.64	12.1
House upkeep, repair, and tax	1,165.00	19.7	2.00	.2
Clothing	412.50	7.0	79.15	7.9
Education:				
School supplies	0	0	4.24	.4
Newspapers, magazines	26.00	.4	0	0
Health	180.00	3.0	8.24	.8
Religion and fiestas	46.80	.8	32.05	3.2
Diversion	64.80	1.1	21.80	2.0
Investments:		27.8		7.2
Purchase of animals	670.00		68.00	
Feed for animals	972.24		4.20	
Miscellaneous:	179.40	3.0	25.50	2.5
Total	5,886.90		998.67	

* Undetermined.

Family II spends only one-sixth as much as Family I. The way in which the money is apportioned among the various items reveals some significant differences in the level of living of these two families.

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FOOD

The annual regular food expenditures were estimated from the weekly expenditure already presented (see p. 192). Family I spends almost three times more on food than Family II, but this annual expenditure represents only 29 per cent of its total expenditure, whereas that of Family II represents 56 per cent of its total.

The proportion spent by both families for fiesta meals is almost equal, being 3 per cent for Family I and 4 per cent for Family II. This is a disproportionately heavy burden for the poorer family, which normally does not spend so much on fiesta meals.[10]

[10] See p. 192 for fiesta meals included under irregular food expenditures.

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It is to be noted that the birthday of the father was not celebrated in either family, despite the fact that it is traditionally the most important birthday. It is quite common for men past youth to forego birthday celebrations as an economy measure

Expenditure for alcohol is an almost inevitable item in every Tepoztecan household. It was impossible to estimate this item in Family I since the family was reticent to discuss it. The father has, in recent years, begun to drink heavily, and during periods of drunkenness, has wasted considerable family funds. A conservative estimate of his expenditures on alcohol would be at least four times that of Family II. It is interesting to note that the daughter in Family I also likes to drink wine and beer with her more sophisticated friends. This is a custom she learned while in Mexico City; in Tepoztlán she and her friends indulge only in great secrecy

In Family II only the father drinks. When he has money he drinks about 10 centavos worth of alcohol each morning.

BASIC HOUSEHOLD NECESSITIES

The articles included and the cost of each for both families are as follows:

	Family I (Pesos)	*Family II* (Pesos)
Soap	62.40	26.00
Charcoal	57.00	—
Wood	18.00	54.60
Kerosene	18.72	10.92
Cigarettes	43.68	7.80
Candles	43.68	18.72
Matches	7.80	2.60
Laundress	52.00	—
Total	303.28	120.64

The better-to-do family uses more soap, bathes and changes clothes more often, uses labor-saving charcoal, and has better lighting in the home. The father and son each smoke about three times more cigarettes than the father of the poor family, and the mother of the first family has the aid of a hired woman for the laundry. However, expenditures for household necessities for Family I is 5 per cent of the total, whereas for Family II it is 12 per cent.

HOUSE UPKEEP, REPAIR, AND TAX

This item provides a sharp contrast between the two families. The better-to-do family spent 1,165 pesos, or 19 per cent of its total expenditures, on improving its house; the poor family spent nothing but the 2 pesos for house tax. Family I regularly paints, whitewashes, and repairs its house; Family II has not done anything to improve its house in the past five years. The former has continually added rooms and out-buildings to the original house; the latter has lived in the same one room house since marriage. It is one of the hopes of this family to add a room or porch, so that the older children may sleep separately from the parents and young children.

It is interesting to note that the tax for the improved house is little higher than

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that of the poor house. The expenditures for both families are summarized as follows:

	Family I (Pesos)	*Family II* (Pesos)
Roofing and remodeling three rooms	980	—
Painting one room	30	—
Whitewashing porch	20	—
New henhouse	100	—
New corncrib	30	—
House tax	5	2
Total	1,165	2

CLOTHING

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Clothing takes approximately the same proportion of the total annual expenditures for both families—7 per cent for Family I and 7.9 per cent for Family II. An examination of the type and amount of clothing purchased reveals some interesting differences.

Family I	*Pesos*	*Family II*	*Pesos*
Entire family: cloth for making clothing	138.00	Entire family: cloth for making clothing	53.45
Father: 2 prs. huaraches at 11	22.00	Father: 1 pr. huaraches	5.00
2 sombreros	11.50	2 sombreros	5.50
		1 *gabán*	11.00
Son: 1 pr. huaraches	11.00	First son: 2 sombreros	1.45
1 pr. shoes	22.00	Second son: 1 sombrero	.90
2 sombreros	12.50	Third son: 1 sombrero	.45
1 felt hat	18.00	Infant son: cotton booties	1.00
Mother: 2 prs. shoes	20.50		
Daughter: 2 prs. shoes at 15	30.00		
2 prs. shoes at 20	40.00		
1 pr. shoes	27.00		
3 prs. stockings at 10	30.00		
2 prs. stockings at 15	30.00		
Total	412.50	Total	79.15

The cloth purchased for Family I was used to make men's shirts and pants, women's blouses and dresses, and underclothing for both. Every member of this family still has a good supply of clothing from the previous year. The cloth for Family II was used to make shirts and *calsones* for the father and first three sons. One daughter received a new dress this year because she took part in a religious program. The mother received a dress as a Mother's Day gift from the daughter who works, and the second daughter received a worn dress from the same girl. The younger daughters have worn hand-me-down dresses ever since they were born. The infant wears old clothing given by the mother's sister. All the members of this family except the father and the working daughter always go barefoot.

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Shoes represent an important expenditure in Family I, particularly for the daughter, who spent more on shoes than Family II did to clothe the entire family. In the former family, the expenditure for the children exceeds that for the parents; in the latter family, the largest expenditure is for the father. There is an appreciable difference in the quality of the clothing worn by both families.

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EDUCATION

The low proportion of money spent on educational materials by both families is notable. Family I no longer has children in school, but it spends a regular amount of money on newspapers and magazines which the daughter buys for the new dress styles.[19] Family II sent only two children to school in 1944.

HEALTH

In 1944, Family I had more illness than Family II. The daughter was seriously ill with typhus and required a doctor from Cuernavaca. Approximately 100 pesos were spent to cure her. The family also contributed 80 pesos to cure the ailing grandmother. Family II had no serious illness; all colds, intestinal upsets, and infections were treated with home remedies. The mother gave birth to a baby during this year and was attended by a midwife. She received fourteen massages, and the cost of these plus the delivery was 8.24 pesos.

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RELIGION AND FIESTAS

Included under religious expenditures are taxes or contributions and money spent for flowers, candles, and incense. They are as follows:

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Family I	*Pesos*	*Family II*	*Pesos*
August—Barrio fiesta	5.00	August—Fiesta of barrio of Santa Cruz	.50
November—Candles for Day of the Dead	24.00	September—Fiesta of Tepozteco	.25
		Fiesta of barrio of San Miguel	.50
March—Carnaval	10.00	November—Candles for Day of the Dead	8.00
		Flowers	.20
April—Semana Santa	3.00		
Church contributions at 40 centavos per month	4.80	December—Fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe	.25
		January—Fiesta of Santa María of Tepoztlán	.50
		Fiesta of Gabriel Mariaca	.10
		Candles	1.00
		Flowers	.25
		Incense	.10
		February—Day of Candelaria	.25
		Constitution Day	.50

[19] It should be noted, however, that this family has spent a relatively large amount on education in the past, since both the children received advanced schooling.

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Family I (Cont.)	*Pesos*	*Family II (Cont.)*	*Pesos*
		March—Carnaval	6.00
		Fiesta of Chalma	.50
		Fiesta of Tlayacapan	.75
		Candles	.40
		April—Fiesta of Mazatepec	2.00
		Saturday of Glory	.50
		May—Fiesta of barrio of Santa Cruz	.50
		Fiesta of Ixcatepec	1.00
		June—Fiesta of barrio of La Santísima	
		Music	3.00
		Fireworks	1.00
		Bullfight	1.00
		Tax	1.75
		Candles	1.00
		Flowers	.25
Total	46.80	Total	32.05

There is a striking difference in the religious activity of the two families. Family I gives larger contributions but to a minimum number of fiestas; only a small regular contribution of 10 centavos is made to the church every Sunday. This family does not attend or contribute to the fiestas of other barrios or villages. The religious expenditures are only .8 per cent of the total family expenditures. Fiesta celebrations are generally in the form of a special fiesta meal for the family and visitors.

In contrast, the poor family makes smaller contributions but attends about four times as many fiestas, including fiestas of other barrios and villages and those of the central church. However, this family does not generally attend church on Sunday and makes no contribution there. This family bears out the local pattern in which poor families in desperate economic circumstances eagerly support as many different fiestas as possible in the hope of obtaining the blessing and indulgence of one of the saints. A more generalized support of the central church is apparently too indirect and impersonal a way to achieve this. The religious expenditure of this family constitutes 3.2 per cent of its total annual expenditure, or proportionately four times that of Family I.

DIVERSION

Diversion other than that provided by the fiestas was as follows:

Family I	*Pesos*	*Family II*	*Pesos*
Movies in Cuernavaca (including bus fare)	64.80	Fair of Jiutepec	1.00
		Bus fare to visit daughter who works in Cuernavaca	20.00
		Two tops and marbles for boys	.80
Total	64.80	Total	21.80

These expenditures constitute 1 per cent and 2 per cent of total annual expenditures for Family I and Family II, respectively.

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INVESTMENTS

The most common form of investment among rich and poor in Tepoztlán is the purchase of animals. In 1944, the investments of both families were as follows:

Family I	*Pesos*	*Family II*	*Pesos*
Purchase of cattle and other animals	670.00	Purchase of four pigs during year for 58. (Two died and two were sold for 52, resulting in a loss of 6.)	58.00
Animal feed	972.24	Purchase of two chickens	10.00
		Feed for chickens for two months	4.20
Total	1,642.24	Total	72.20

The above expenditures constitute 28 per cent of the total expenditures of Family I, and 7 per cent of those of Family II.

MISCELLANEOUS

	Family I (Pesos)		*Family II* (Pesos)
Plow	25.00		
5 Plow-scrapers	12.50		
Dishes, *comal*, clay pots	48.00		10.25
Barbershops:			
Father and son	20.40	Father	15.25
Daughter	8.50		
Stamps	25.00		
Gifts by daughter to friends	40.00		
Total	179.40	Total	25.50

The expenditures for miscellaneous items are 3 per cent of the total expenditures for both families.

SPENDING PATTERNS

The spending patterns, indicated in the annual expenditures of these two families, can be taken as typical for the socio-economic levels which they represent. Family I, like other acculturated families in the middle and upper groups, spends relatively large proportions of its income on items connected with comfort and health, such as food, household articles, house repair, doctors, and medicines. Expenditures for clothing, birthdays, and other fiestas celebrated within the home are also comparatively large, sometimes reaching the point of conspicuous consumption. Families of this type usually spend more than other families to educate their children. Expenditures for diversion and contributions to the church and other religious activities are proportionately small. Economic investments, which represent the largest and most important expenditure among the majority of well-to-do Tepoztecan families, is, in this acculturated family, little more than one-fourth of all expenditures.

Family II, like most poor families in Tepoztlán and, indeed, everywhere else,

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spends most of its income on food and basic necessities. Economic investment is at a minimum. One of the striking characteristics of the expenditure of poorer families in Tepoztlán is the relatively large proportion spent on religious fiestas. In the case of Family II, more was spent on religious contributions than house upkeep, or education, or health, or diversion.

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with warm oil of rosemary and violet are given to "heat" the womb. A woman who wishes to prevent conception takes "cold" medicines. A woman who wishes a child and cannot conceive may visit the Virgins of Chalma or Tlaltenango, who are believed to have special powers to grant the desire for children. There is a belief that if conception occurs during the full moon, the child will be strong, and married couples sometimes plan to have intercourse during this time.

The most common symptom of pregnancy is the cessation of menstruation. This is almost always true of a first pregnancy, but may not hold for subsequent pregnancies. Menstruation often does not occur for as long as one or two years after giving birth to a child. Since many women conceive during this period, they do not know that they are pregnant until they feel movement or other symptoms, such as nausea. Sometimes women do not become aware of pregnancy because they continue to menstruate for two or three months after conception. This condition is attributed to *los aires* or to weakness of the back.

When Tepoztecan girls married at a younger age than they do now, they were often ignorant of the signs of pregnancy. They would report the cessation of menstruation to the mother-in-law, who would explain its meaning. The girl's own mother would be advised, but the respect-relations and sense of shame between mother and daughter prevented much direct discussion. The young pregnant wife becomes dependent for advice and care upon her mother-in-law, who may keep the girl's mother informed if she wishes to do so. In later pregnancies, mothers and daughters are generally less inhibited in their behavior toward each other.

Pregnant women make every effort to conceal their condition by carefully covering themselves with their *rebozos*, both at home and in the street. When the pregnancy becomes very obvious, women keep to their homes and the more "careful" mothers remain seated as much as possible, so that their children will not take note of their condition. Women who are careless about concealing their condition are looked down upon. City women who walk in the street without *rebozos* to hide their pregnancy are regarded as particularly shameless. Once a city woman who did not wear a *rebozo* came to live in Tepoztlán during her pregnancy, but left shortly because no one would speak to her. Tepoztecans had ostracized her because she was "opening the eyes of their children." More recently Tepoztecans were aroused by the fact that one of the schoolteachers continued to attend school, although in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The school director was chastized, and the teacher was asked to resign.

When a woman knows she is pregnant she informs her mother-in-law, if residence is patrilocal, or her husband, and arrangements are made to hire a midwife. The cost of the midwife has risen, from about ten pesos in 1943 to about twenty pesos in 1948. Before the Revolution, midwives in Tepoztlán received as little as one and two pesos. The rise in price reflects the increasing urbanization of Tepoztlán, as well as the general rise in cost of living in recent years.[3]

[3] In Mitla, in the 1930's, midwives were paid 75 centavos for delivering a girl and one peso for a boy. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 78. In Tzintzuntzan, midwives received from 3 to 7 pesos in

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suffering, and maladjustment. We are told little of poverty, economic problems, or political schisms. Throughout his study we find an emphasis upon the cooperative and unifying factors in Tepoztecan society. Our findings, on the other hand, would emphasize the underlying individualism of Tepoztecan institutions and character, the lack of cooperation, the tensions between villages within the municipio, the schisms within the village, and the pervading quality of fear, envy, and distrust in inter-personal relations.

Now let us consider some of these differences in more detail. Redfield's account of Tepoztlán stresses the role of the communal lands as a unifying factor within the village and the municipio. While this is certainly true it is only part of the story. With the single exception of church lands, communal lands were and are individually operated, and the ideal of every Tepoztecan is to own his private plot of land. Furthermore, the communal lands have been a source of inter-village quarrels, and during the year that Redfield was in Tepoztlán these quarrels resulted in violence. Similarly, Redfield gives the impression that the *cuatequitl*, a traditional form of collective labor, was part and parcel of village life. He described a *cuatequitl* which occurred during his stay as if it were a common and regular occurrence. As a matter of fact, it was the first village *cuatequitl* of importance since the Revolution, and there have been very few subsequent ones. The particular *cuatequitl* which Redfield observed was due to the curious circumstance whereby a local, socialistically oriented political faction, directed from Mexico City by a group of Tepoztecans who were members of the Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos, locally known as the Bolsheviki, revived the traditional *cuatequitl*. Before the Revolution, the village *cuatequitl* was not viewed simply as a voluntary, cooperative endeavor but was also associated with forced labor and imposition by the local *cacique* groups which ruled the village during the Díaz regime. In the colonial period the Spaniards similarly utilized the traditional *cuatequitl* as a source of labor. In short, Redfield's account of the cooperative aspects of village life needs to be modified somewhat in the light of other data.

Redfield portrayed Tepoztlán as a community of landowners and did not mention a land problem. But we found that over fifty per cent of the villagers did not own private land, and that there was an acute shortage of good land and considerable population pressure in the face of dwindling agricultural resources. Redfield gave a rather glowing picture of Tepoztlán during the Díaz regime as having reached a period of great cultural florescence, but he failed to point out that this was limited to only a few Tepoztecans, and that the vast majority of Tepoztecans were illiterate, desperately poor, landless, and living under an oppressive political regime which forbade them to utilize their own communal resources. In this connection it is interesting to note that Tepoztlán was one of the first villages in the state of Morelos to join the Zapatista revolt against the Díaz regime. Redfield apparently viewed the Mexican Revolution as having had the effect of halting the tendency for

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including those in Tepoztlán, continue to work their tiny subsistence holdings with traditional backward methods. And the contrast between the old and the new agriculture in Mexico is becoming sharper: less than 1 percent of the cultivated land is worked with the aid of the country's 55,000 tractors; about 20 percent of the land is still worked by the pre-Hispanic method of cutting and burning without benefit of plow and oxen. The production of Mexico's two basic food crops, corn and beans, has managed to keep up with the rapid population growth in the past twenty years but the margin of security has been slight. In drought years Mexico has been forced to spend its precious dollars to import huge quantities of corn to feed its people.

That the Mexican economy cannot give jobs to all of its people is indicated in the fact that from 1942 to 1955 about a million and a half Mexicans came to the United States as *braceros* or temporary agricultural laborers, and this figure does not include the "wet backs" and other illegal immigration. Mexico has also become increasingly dependent on the United States tourist trade for stabilizing its economy. In 1957, over 700,000 tourists from the United States spent almost 600 million dollars in Mexico, making tourism the single largest industry in the country. The income from the tourist trade is about equal to the total Mexican federal budget.

One aspect of the standard of living which has improved very little since 1940 is housing. With a rapidly rising population and with urbanization, crowding and slum conditions in the larger cities and towns are actually getting worse. Of the 5.2 million dwellings reported in the Mexican census of 1950, 60 percent had only one room and 25 percent two rooms; 70 percent of all houses were made of adobe, wood, poles and rods, or rubble, and only 18 percent of brick and masonry. Only 17 percent had private, piped water.

The Village

How has Tepoztlán changed in the light of these national trends? In 1956 the village did not look much different from the way it looked in 1943. The plaza and market still seemed rather desolate and unprosperous; no additional buildings had been built in the center. There were no new streets or paved roads except for two long cement treads which led up a steep street to the *Posada del Tepozteco,* the new tourist resort run by an American family. More automobile and bus traffic entered the village, and trucks came in with such new items as purified water and tanks of cooking gas for the homes of the foreign colony.

Village men still carried water to their homes from the nearest fountain; women still queued up to have their corn ground at the mills. The older people looked much the same, but the clothes of the younger people were more varied, colorful, and citified. More young women had short hair and permanent waves, and one young girl wore blue jeans. The young men wore modern trousers, shirts, and jackets, and more children had shoes, sweaters, and store-bought clothes. The small shops sold more canned goods and pack-

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
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177 aged foods, mostly to the employed people who live in the center. Old women
511 sold ready-made tortillas in the plaza. There was still no restaurant but there
[265] were more saloons. A blare of radios came from the houses and inside some
[275] homes one saw a new kerosene or Coleman stove, aluminum pots, kerosene or gasoline lamps, forks, and hand presses for shaping tortillas. At least one home had overstuffed furniture.

But many more changes have occurred than meet the eye. As a
[161] result of the population increase—from 3,500 in 1940 to approximately 4,800
[362] in 1957—there is a shortage of housesites and housing, and Tepoztecans petitioned the local government to make available some of the nearby communal lands for new housesites. Several homes have been built on the outskirts of the village and in the surrounding *cerros*. Formerly it was not customary to rent
[427] a house; if a Tepoztecan had an extra house he would allow another [redacted] to use it simply for the care of it. Now rental has become quite usual.

177 Since the late forties Tepoztlán has had a resident doctor and since
[759] 1952 a doctor from Cuernavaca who formerly practiced in the village has come once a week to see his patients. The clientele of both doctors has been increasing. In 1950, the resident doctor had an average of 75 patients a
[278] month; by 1956 the average was 160. Tepoztecans now complain about the expense of medicines and the delay caused by having prescriptions filled in Cuernavaca; the local "druggist" cannot fill prescriptions and carries few
[743] patent medicines. The village has a free federal government health clinic
[744] which cares for children and pregnant women and administers injections.
[751] About ten patients, most of them expectant mothers, come there every day. In 1955 approximately two thousand vaccinations and revaccinations were given.

177 The clinic and the doctor have by no means replaced the *curanderos*,
757 however. Tepoztecans believe that doctors can cure only certain diseases,
753 and still frequent *curanderos* for those illnesses which they attribute to *los aires*, anger, hot or cold foods, evil eye, and sorcery. Most births are still
[759] attended by the native midwives. If the doctor happens to cure an illness
[844] thought to be caused by *los aires*, this is taken as proof that the *aires* were not truly the cause. Although the villagers have substituted new terms for old concepts—for example, *los aires* are now sometimes described as tiny animals or microbes and injections are called "cleansings"—it is questionable whether this represents much of a departure from the earlier magical thinking about the causes of disease.

177 Like many villages in the densely populated central plateau area, Tep-
241 oztlán has not had the benefit of the great new hydroelectric and irrigation
[312] projects. Its agricultural base has remained very much the same; there has
[377] been no mechanization and no new important cash crops have been introduced. The peasants continue to work their land as before, although a few
[464] are now using some commercial fertilizer. Because the lack of change in agriculture combined with the rapidly increasing population has forced Tepoztecans to seek work in nonfarm occupations, a much lower proportion of the gain-
[314] fully occupied are now peasants. The federal campaign for the preservation of